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Chicago, August 10, 1907.

ANTI-UNION UNIONISM

It has been necessary on more than one occasion during the past year for us to speak of the American Federation of Labor as a capitalist union meaning thereby that while it claimed to be an organization representing the working class, or a part of the working class, the A. F. of L. was in reality an auxiliary of capitalism, since the methods of those in control of it necessarily served the interests of the employing class better than the interests of the workers. Dominated by the idea, if not squarely based upon it, that there is a mutuality or identity of interest between the employer and the employing classes, the A. F. of L., as we have also declared, is not a true working class organization.

It follows logically that if the A. F. of L. is trying to serve both labor and the class which employs labor, its efforts must be attended with disaster. And this is its record. An organization that declares there is mutuality of interest between the employer and the exploited cannot escape the consequences of a union of interests to itself. The officers of such an organization cannot serve two masters, and in the attempt to do so the weaker must suffer.

The influential misconception that a labor organization can be used to conserve the interests of the employers of labor, as well as the interests of its members, begets a condition of degeneracy and reckless disregard of the workers' interest, as we now see in the A. F. of L., to that point where, under the leadership of capitalist, but anti-union, it turns, on the one hand, to succor the master class, and on the other to rend and devour its own offspring. Unionism destroys unionists, and becomes the degenerate progeny of a union of interests of scabs. This is the record made by the A. F. of L. To such uses has it, at last!

From these reflections, let us turn to facts of quite recent development and confirming our repeated declaration that the A. F. of L. is an anti-union strike-breaking, scab-making aggregation, at least so far as its officers and "leaders" are concerned. The Brewery Workers of New Orleans went on strike as a result of a "deliberate" action of the union found justification and defense and no reason is apparent why they should not have received the united support of New Orleans unionists. No sooner was the strike declared than their places were filled by strike-breakers. These latter were not Jim Farley scabs, but strike-breakers of the Gompers A. F. of L. order. Organizer Leonard, taking the place of Jim Farley against union men who have been numbered among the most loyal and liberal supporters of the A. F. of L., in the name and in behalf of the latter, organized the strike-breakers in a union. That Leonard was commissioned to do this dastardly piece of work by Gompers there is no doubt whatever when a protest was sent to him from New Orleans his answer was a cowardly evasion which amounted to a virtual ratification of the organization of scab unions and affiliation with the A. F. of L.

We shall not say that this is an infamous assault upon organized labor, because it is just what might be expected from officers of the A. F. of L., whose conceptions of the labor movement are wrong and whose sole interest in that movement is the perpetuation of their jobs and a continuance of their opportunities to strut in the limelight. It is an indication of the passing of the perfunctory Gompers and his retinue of "mutual interest" strike-breakers, who may be depended upon to outdo Jim Farley until such time as the rank and file declare they will submit no longer to the deceptions practiced upon them and organize industrially to take possession of their means of livelihood. The New Orleans incident puts the A. F. of L. on the toboggan slide for fair. It is a degenerate offspring of the American labor movement; let it slide into the moblition it deserves; its descent means the rise of the working class to freedom.

WHAT THE RECORD SHOWS

The Industrial Workers of the World is not arrogating to itself the sole credit for the splendid defeat of Wm. D. Haywood in the ordeal which he has just passed, nor is it seeking to foist itself into an unearned reputation by unwarranted statements as to the "absolute impossibility" of securing the verdict rendered in his case without its "magnificent" organization.

A recent regard for the truth and the facts in the case, preclude any such bombastic exhibition on our part. That it should be indulged by any division of the forces behind the defense, is a matter for profound regret. And when it is done with a total disregard for truth, when the occa-

sion is used to make political capital and puffed facts, it becomes a fit matter for condemnation.

Imagine our astonishment when we read in the Chicago Daily Socialist of July 31st, the following:

"It was the Socialist party organization that formed the compact fighting body around which the forces rallied. It was from the Socialist party that the first protests went out. It was the national executive of the Socialist party that formulated plans that were carried out on a national scale. It was the thousands of locals scattered through every state of the Union that formed centers of activity and agitation in places that could have been reached in no other way. This from the leading editorial written, it is presumed, by A. M. Simmons. The same article contains this statement, which again, is at variance with the facts: 'But perhaps the best thing about the whole movement was the willingness shown by the Socialist party to sink its identity' in the cause for which it was fighting."

No division of the working class which was aroused into activity in behalf of the Western Federation should be denied its just share of credit—if credit are to be claimed or allowed. But any division that seeks to force a recognition of its spurious "claims" is deserving of no credit whatever.

One of the claims now made by the Chicago Daily Socialist is that it was from the Socialist party that the first protests went out. The falsity of this claim can easily be proven, and because of the deliberate attempt to impose a lie on its readers, we submit the true facts in the case.

Haywood with his associates, was arrested late at night February 17th, 1906. The news reached Chicago on the following day, which was Sunday. Early on Monday morning, the 19th, active preparations were begun for the persons present at that conference were Eugene V. Debs, Wm. E. Trautman, John Riddan, A. S. Edwards, P. F. Lawson and the editor of the Daily Socialist, A. M. Simmons.

With one exception, all were members of the I. W. W. That exception was the person last named, and he at that time was believed, at least by some, to be entirely friendly to the organization, by reason of having been a delegate in the convention of 1905 and publicly declaring his belief in and support of the organization at various times and places. The conference was one of I. W. W. men and had it been known then that Simmons' professions of support of the organization were of the customary "high air" brand he would have been excluded.

The immediate result of the conference was the writing of an appeal to the working class of America to unite for the defense of Moyer, and Pettibone. It was specifically aimed upon the workers to organize public demonstrations and start forth with a defense fund. It was actually put in circulation through the mails on the following day, February 20, and before the close of the week it had been sent to pour into the general headquarters of the I. W. W. The first defense conferences in all large industrial centers were organized by Industrial Workers of the World, and of the truth of this statement there is an abundance of documentary evidence in the face of which it staggers belief that any person or party would attempt, for political purposes, to deny it.

Months before the Socialist party organization really took action for the defense of the I. W. W., had forwarded thousands of dollars to the Denver office of the Western Federation. In the meantime scores of conferences for defense were held all parts of the country.

So reluctant was the "Socialist party organization" to get into action for the defense, that the record shows one considerable section of it—Visconsin S. D. P.—sought for some weeks to evade it altogether, and its spokesman in a contemptuous sneer said: "The Moyer-Haywood episode is merely a border feud, and ought not to be 'magnified' into the semblance of a struggle between capitalists and workingmen."

It hurts to have these things recalled, does it? Then let us have the truth according to the record, there will then be no necessity for telling them.

The fact is that a large number, probably thousands, of Socialist party members who, at the time of the arrests were and now are members of the I. W. W., were active for the defense before the S. P. organization ventured to lend a helping hand.

The first defense conference organized here, nearly twelve months after the kidnapping, in this belated conference, the Executive Committee of the Cook County S. P. figured to some extent, although nearly a year previous that same committee had turned down a proposal of the I. W. W. for a united conference, and now in its behalf the editor of the Daily Socialist, with an exaggeration of language as unlimited as his disregard for the truth, writes

about the "willingness of the Socialist party to sink its identity!" And now, the trial of Haywood over, it seeks to make political capital out of its part, magnified beyond all possibility of recognition by those acquainted with the truth in the hope of receiving compensation for "sinking its identity."

The defensive activities were organized and the bulk of the defense fund raised by the economic organizations of the working class. That's the record and we challenge refutation of any material point.

Shall We Wait for Human Nature to Change?

What is human nature? Some would answer this question by saying that it is human nature to try to get the best of others, to rob or to be robbed from others what belongs to them. But it would be more nearly the truth to say that this is hog nature, and that a fierce competitive system breeds the hog nature rather than the human. An honest man in a competitive system, is an exception and not the rule, and carried far enough, these exceptions would in time disappear, so that there would be no honest men left on earth. Man is simply a collection of animal emotions. And social conditions make the environments, and the environments make a man what he is. How human nature expresses, depends entirely on how it is enviroined. If you make it impossible for men to live decent and enjoy life by honest toil, and possible for them to steal and enjoy life to a greater degree, many will be found who will make stealing their life profession. And the thieves will grow in number as the life of the toilers grows harder, and to make the reader understand fully the problem before us, let me point a fresh illustration: As I write these lines, a wageworker is carried past my cabin on a stretcher, thought to be in a dying condition; he has been for days, weeks and months, sawing out profits for an idle employer, and about one hour ago a four-foot redwood log rolled over his body, grinding it almost to a pulp from head to foot. And this employer, not only does not employ any more any of the dangers to which the wageworker is continually subjected, but stands at a safe distance, and he gets five dollars out of your work where you get one.

Now then, does it surprise you that men do not take kindly to work where the object and only object is for profit, and not for use? Under the co-operative system, where production is carried on for use, and not for profit, the life and health of the worker would be valued far above the value of the product, and in case of accident, his income would not stop. As it is, the worker must get in and dig, that a big profit may pile up for his employer, for if he does not "hustle," that big profits may pile up for his employer, there are others ready to take his place, and these are anxious to make a dollar, even if five times as many go to the employer, who is always at a safe distance from the danger, and who throws the care of the maimed and injured onto the tender mercies of the state.

Under present the same conditions, human nature will express in exactly the same way. It is human nature to seek to draw from life the greatest degree of happiness, with as small a measure of bitterness as possible. And when you have said this, you have told the whole story of human nature. It is man's nature to seek happiness, and he will move along the lines of least resistance to obtain this happiness. He may sink deeper into misery, in his efforts to obtain happiness, but this is unforeseen, and is incidental to his main purpose, that of seeking happiness. Make it unprofitable for men to steal, and thieves will disappear. To hear some men talk, one might suppose that only when the practical restraints would be removed, and men invited to waste in and do their worst. The truth is, that under Socialism men will be forced to keep in their own orbits, and it is only by remaining in their orbits, but bitterly oppose this more perfect order of things. But the better day draws nigh, regardless of what evil minded men desire.

Frank Reed.

Eureka, Cal.

Attention is called to the report, in this issue, of the I. W. W. to the International Labor and Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, Germany, which opens August 24th. It is an anti-dote to purge the Congress of the poison injected into it by a report sent in over the names of Mahlon Barnes and Morris Hillquit concerning the I. W. W.

The Chicago Daily Socialist takes the money of the I. W. W. for advertising Vincent St. John's meeting in this city, but has not a line of reference to the meeting in its "news" columns. That's the sort of treatment the straight capitalist newspapers hand out to the workers.

Vincent St. John's meetings in the East have been uniformly successful, large audiences turning out at every place. In regard to his public addresses, his experience gained in the school of hard knocks, he has everywhere made a favorable impression.

FRENCH LEAFLETS.

The "Address to Wage Workers" has been translated and printed in French and is ready for delivery. It is an excellent leaflet for propaganda among French workers. Sent to any address, express paid, at \$1.00 a thousand.

Canadian and foreign subscriptions to The Bulletin, One Dollar a year.

WORKING CLASS ECONOMICS

Conducted by James P. Thompson

LESSON X.—CONCLUDED.

Note.—Marx looked upon the social movement as a process of natural history, and shows "that each special mode of production and the social relations corresponding to it, in short, that the economic structure of society is the real basis on which the judicial and political superstructure is raised, and to which definite social forms of thought correspond; that the mode of production determines the character of the social, political and intellectual life generally."

"If method is not only different from the Hegelian but is its direct opposite. To level the life-process of the human brain—i. e., the process of thinking, which, under the name of the 'idea,' he even transforms into an independent subject—is the demigods of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of the 'idea.' With Marx, on the contrary, the idea is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought."

Q. What is the religious world the reflex of?

A. "The real world."

Q. For a society based upon the production of commodities, in which the producers in general enter into social relations with one another by treating their products as commodities and values, whereby they reduce their individual private labor to the standard of homogeneous human labor—for such a society what is the most fitting form of religion?

A. "Christianity, with its cultus of abstract man, more especially in its bourgeois developments, Protestantism, Deism, etc."

Note.—In the ancient Asiatic and other ancient modes of production, we find that the conversion of products into commodities, and therefore the conversion of men into producers of commodities, holds a subordinate place, which, however, increases in importance as the primitive communities approach nearer and nearer to their dissolution."

Q. Did trading nations, properly so called, exist in the ancient world?

A. "Only in its interstices, like the gods of Epicurus, in the Intermedium, and like Jews in the pores of Polish society."

Q. How are those ancient social organizations of production as compared with bourgeois society?

A. "Extremely simple and transparent."

Q. On what are they founded?

A. "Either on the immature development of man individually, who has not yet severed the umbilical cord that unites him with his fellow men in a primitive tribal community, or upon direct relations of subjection."

Q. When only can they rise and exist?

A. "Only when the development of the productive power of labor has not risen beyond a low stage, and therefore the social relations within the sphere of material life between man and man, and between man and Nature, are correspondingly narrow."

Q. In what is this narrowness reflected?

A. "In the ancient worship of Nature, and in the other elements of the popular religions."

Q. When can the religious reflex of the real world finally vanish?

A. "Only when the practical relations of everyday life offer to man none but perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations with regard to his fellow men and to Nature."

Q. When does the life-process of society, which is based on the process of material production, strip off its mystical veil?

A. "Only when it is treated as production by freely associated men, and is consciously regulated by them in accordance with a social plan."

Q. What does this, however, demand for society?

A. "A certain material groundwork or set of conditions of existence, which in their turn are the spontaneous product of a long and painful process of development."

Q. As regards value in general, what is the weak point of the classical school of political economy?

A. "That it nowhere expressly and with full consciousness, distinguishes between labor as it appears in the value of a product and the same labor as it appears in the use-value of that product."

A. "No.—Destutt says 'that on the one hand all things which constitute wealth represent the labor that creates them, but that, on the other hand, they acquire their 'two different values' (use-value and exchange-value) from the value of labor.' It thus falls into the commonplace error of the vulgar economists, who assume the value of one commodity (in this case labor) in order to determine the values of the rest."

Q. What is one of the chief failings of a classical economy?

A. "That it has never succeeded, by means of its analysis of commodities, and, in particular, of their value, in discovering that form under which value becomes exchange-value."

Note.—"Even Adam Smith and Ricardo, the best representatives of the school, treat the form of value as a thing of no importance, as having no connection with the inherent nature of commodities. The reason for this is not solely because their attention is entirely absorbed in the analysis of the magnitude of value. It lies deeper. The value-form of the product of labor is not only the most abstract, but is also the most universal form, taken by the product in bourgeois production, and stamps that production as a particular species of social production, and thereby gives it its special historical character. If, then, we treat this mode of production as an externally fixed by Nature for every state of society, we necessarily overlook that which is the differentia specifica of the value-form, and consequently of the commodity form, and of its further developments, money-form, capital-form, etc. We consequently find

Marx vs. Ashplant, Which?

Editor Bulletin:—

In your issue of this date under the heading "Marx or Reed, which?" James P. Thompson says, "This theory, that the price of commodities is determined by the price of labor power, was exploded by Marx many years ago," and after criticizing the error of Frank Reed, concludes without giving a concise statement (for the benefit of muddled readers) explaining the position of Karl Marx, showing how in his view the prices of commodities ARE determined. Permit me to submit that the position of Karl Marx, as I understand it, is as follows:

1. Commodities exchange on the basis of equal values (not the average) in the world market; prices merely expressing variations in the weight of gold metal any article will exchange for.

2. Money (gold) is itself a commodity, chosen by the general group of commodities to act as a medium of exchange, because it (gold) is more convenient in bulk and has more utilitarian value for this purpose than other commodities, because it has great exchange value.

3. Gold, as money, in circulation exchanges value for value with any other, and with all other kinds of commodities; the basis of value being average labor time wrapped up in each commodity exchanged, less gold for less of anything else, and more gold for more of anything else. For illustration, while in the present system variations in price occur through conditions of unusual tendency even under capitalism is according to Karl Marx, for a ton of coal to represent the same volume of labor time (social labor) as the small amount of gold in \$600 (or) will represent. The variations of price, with variations in supply or quantity of products, actually proves the fact that labor time is the determining factor, because 50 bushels of wheat, or 50 tons of coal, appearing on the market as the product of a given amount of labor, that formerly yielded 25 bushels, or 25 tons, the price (or quantity of gold) it exchanges for is dropped because each unit bushel or ton represents less labor time expended in (or wrapped up in) its production. The drop in price follows a drop in the labor time consumed, per unit commodity, under normal conditions, for value, in exchange it represents less gold, because in 1 hour less gold is mined than in 2 hours, and vice versa.

4. The prices of natural products such as wheat, vegetables, etc., vary more, in accord with nature's variations in volume of supply per season's yield to labor time, than will commodities of artificial or factory manufacture. Owing to scientific discoveries and inventions applied to factory products, the normal tendency is to drop steadily in price, because less and less time per unit commodity is consumed, and therefore less and less gold is produced in the shorter time measure than in the longer time measure; international dealers in gold follow the law of labor-time values with great sensitiveness in exchange for other goods that never give as much gold for goods that can be produced in less time than before. Monopoly and price rises are not normal; they actually, however, prove the rule.

5. Given a specified unit of social labor time for an illustration—as, say, 12 hours; if (a) 1 man labors on a farm and nature responds with 10 bushels of corn; and (b) 1 other man labors at gold mining and brings up 10 ounces of gold; if one ounce of gold is called in commercial practice one dollar (\$1.00) then the price per unit bushel is determined by the simple laws of arithmetical ratio, viz.: Supply, 10 bushels; demand, 10 dollars; price, 1 dollar, one ounce of

gold for one bushel of wheat, the units of both commodities exchanging as EQUAL to each other. For a universal exchange medium in commercial practice it is easy to see that gold is more likely than iron, coal, or wheat to survive as a convenient medium for daily exchanges, not because it is WORTH MORE in exchange value, but more in utility.

6. Wages are determined by the value and immoral standard of the sum of products necessary to keep the worker in daily working condition, without regard to his product. A day's product may on the market realize 5 dollars in gold exchange value; but \$1.25 may keep the laborer in working condition; hence the difference between \$1.25 and \$5.00 represents the margin that may go to Profit, Rent, and Interest, without making any difference to the market price, which latter is determined by the ratio between supply of commodities and supply (demand) of gold per season of labor time. If \$5.00 will buy fifty bushels of wheat, and the worker gets only \$1.25, then the person who gets the \$3.75 can consume fifteen-twentieths, while the worker only gets five-twentieths of the 50 bushels.

7. If \$5.00 in market value is the product of a man's toil who receives only \$1.25 determined by competition at the starvation point, it is easy to see that the profit fund of \$3.75 will vary in exactly inverse ratio to a change in the wage item. Hence it is quite intelligent that perpetual conflict results from a system which has profit for its motive rather than a square deal, thereby raising wages to \$2.00 may drop dividends to \$3.00 without any necessary change in market price. Also by dropping wages to \$1.00 you can raise dividends to \$4.00.

8. Cost of production may vary from \$1.25 up to any point below \$5.00 without necessarily affecting general market price; cost of production will affect PROFITS more than price.

9. A large relative increase in the world's gold supply will, by above law tend to raise prices, because more gold is supplied per unit of labor time than before. Labor time is absolutely the DOMINANT factor in prices.

10. With higher prices the wage fund is seriously impaired, while PROFITS increase in inverse ratio; that is the present infamous position FOR SALARIED MEN IN COMMON WITH THE WAGE-WORKER.

The writer respectfully submits the above as a fair presentation of Marx's position on VALUE, PRICE and PROFIT; if an incorrect statement, I will greatly appreciate a discussion of disputed points with James P. Thompson.

I may say that I am engaged in preparation of a little work on economics which I trust may be of assistance to Socialists when complete. Personally I do not agree with much that I read in Socialist journals regarding prices. I find many statements in regard to the worker being robbed as a producer, and not as a consumer, that are wholly wrong and confusing, as they do not square with the facts.

I do not know what a publication of Marx's complete original work may reveal, but "Capital" as published to date is in my opinion faulty on a very important point.

If Mr. Thompson is open for a little controversy, I dispute the claim that commodities exchange as their value in the market, and I claim also that the worker is robbed and always has been as a consumer. What will James P. Thompson say to that from a Marxian standpoint? Yours fraternally,

Montreal, July 27.

HENRY B. ASHPANT.

Note.—"To what extent some economists are misled by the fetishism inherent in commodities, or by the objective appearance of the social characteristics of labor, is shown, among other ways, by the civil and tedious quarrels over the part played by Nature in the formation of exchange value. Since exchange value is a definite social manner of expressing the amount of labor bestowed upon an object, Nature has no more to do with it than it has in fixing the course of exchange."

(Lesson XI next week.)

Constitution in Spanish

The I. W. W. Constitution in Spanish is the latest addition to supplies at the general headquarters. It was printed to supply a demand South and West and will be furnished at 10 cents a copy.

THE PINKERTON LABOR SPY

This remarkable expose of the nefarious work of Pinkertons in labor organizations by Morris Friedman, reveals the real "inner circle" and should be read by every workman. Orders filled from this office. Price, 25 cents.

To anyone sending in ten yearly subscriptions, with \$5.00, for the Industrial Union Bulletin, we will send postpaid a copy of the Official Stenographic Report of the Industrial Workers of the World Convention of 1906. It is a book of 630 pages, and should be read by every member of the I. W. W. The price of the book is \$1.00 to any address.

REPORT OF THE I. W. W. TO THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONGRESS AT STUTTGART

TO THE DELEGATES TO THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR AND SOCIALIST CONGRESS:

"Only the economic organization is capable
"of setting on foot a true political party of
"Labor, and thus raise a bulwark against
"the power of Capital." **MARX**

Comrades and Fellow Workers:—

Strange, we presume, will it appear to you as presenting apparently powerful economic and political organizations of the working class of the European continent; to you who have looked upon the New World as not counting at all in the war between the master and the servant class (this term is extracted from a speech delivered by Mr. J. Davenport, representing the Manufacturing and Anti-Boycott Association, at Cincinnati in 1904) that representatives of a socialist economic organization of America should come before you and assert: "That it will be in North America, the land in which capitalist production and consequently capitalist exploitation of the working class has reached its highest development, where the working class industrially organized and intellectually equipped to continue the most highly developed operations for the sole enjoyment of all wealth produced by those who toil and toil, will be able to take possession of the means of production and distribution, and usher in the co-operative commonwealth in this part of the globe, so that in rapid succession the workers of all other nations will throw off the yoke of capitalist exploitation and exterminate forever the rulership of a few over the many."

This prediction may sound bombastic. The backwardness of the American working class movement often furnished reasons for adverse comment among the proletarians, who had been kept in darkness as to the real conditions prevailing in this country. Wise doctrinaires from abroad, glancing superficially at conditions during visits of a few weeks' duration, had condemned the working class as not being able to work out and to accomplish the ends sought by all Socialists throughout the world.

There are many, looking to Germany as the classic land of socialism, who aver that the revolutionary propaganda must follow the lines of countries industrially less developed than the United States and Canada, and they are pointing continually to Europe for plans upon which the destructive propaganda against capitalist class institutions, and the constructive work for the Socialist Republic should necessarily be conducted.

You men and women, delegates to this congress, again will have to hear the declaration that each land has to cope with its own industrial conditions, and that the workers of the northern part of the American continent have worked out the plans, fully consistent with conditions for the battle for economic freedom. You heard their voice twice before, representatives from economic organizations, delivering to the proletarians of the world the message of industrial solidarity at the international labor congress in Paris, 1889.

The idea of an international labor day on May first was born in America, the International Labor Congress held in Paris in the year 1889 enthusiastically heralded the thought throughout the civilized world. Millions of workers, in increasing numbers every year, today greet that day of international demonstration of working class solidarity on the economic and the political field. But the sponsors renounced their child one year after its birth, the capitalist class substituted a Labor Day of their origin, in September every year. This was the first time that the "New World" set the path,—the second time in 1893, other economic organizations of workers of North America, qualified under the rules of the congress to speak for workers of this continent, were represented, but there the conflict between two opposing principles was manifested in the contradictory actions of these representatives, one representing the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, the other the United Brewery Workers of America, both organizations claiming to be socialist economic organizations. The first was organized on the right lines, it had the soul, but amounted to little in numbers, and was therefore not able to withstand capitalist persecution; the other was just used, unknown though to its membership, to shield another organization and to act as a banner, which was then and is now only an adjunct to the capitalist class and was then bolstered up to obscure the real issue and convey the impression that the formation of a socialist trades union movement in the American continent was a result of personal animosities, caused by the differences among a few who were looked upon as trying to control and to direct the movements of the working class. The basic differences were not understood then, because at that London congress the representatives of both factions of the economic organization claimed to have the qualifications of being considered organizations based on the recognition of the class conflict in society.

Socialists of European countries, who are prone to measure the strength of working class solidarity by the number of votes cast on every recurring election day, would ridicule the idea that in a country with universal suffrage for all male citizens the ballot should not be regarded as a criterion of work done and advances made in the incessant propaganda for socialist aims and ends. Those again who would weigh the chances of winning the conflict with the capitalist class by the number of heads periodically tabulated as being bound together in trades unions for a common purpose, usually fail to draw the distinction between trades unions which are regarded by them as temporary make-shifts only, and such economic organizations as are organized for the most important functions in a social fabric founded on a co-operative basis. In the opinion of the former, unions would pass out of existence with the day of labor's triumph in the revolution.

No organization of laboring people can be recognized as a working class institution except its motive force is the desire to reach the complete emancipation of the working class; benefiting from the lessons presented in the evolutionary process in the modes of production and the shifting change in the ownership of the implements for the creation of marketable wealth, such organizations must continually press on towards the consummation of the Socialist program. It is, therefore, incumbent upon all such organizations of labor, on the political as well as on the economic field, that they constitute fighting, militant organizations, organized for the every day experiences and the final conflict with the master class. Being militant in character, they cannot be drifted into the troubled waters of compromise, else they would lose their character, would cease to be institutions of the working class, organized on the recognition of the irreconcilable class conflict in present day society.

If these premises are not correct, why then did the International Socialist Bureau, in mapping out the program for this congress, refuse to strike out from the qualifications of representatives the words "such trades unions organized on the recognition of the class struggle." Consistent with Socialist principles as this decision is, it becomes more significant, supremely important, for the formulation of an international program of action for the preparation of the workers for a successful fulfillment of their historic mission.

Under this construction, laid down by many of the International Congresses of Labor, any one pretending to speak and to work for the emancipation of labor from the bondage of wage slavery, who defends, promotes and supports such trades unions as are founded on the false theory of harmonizing interests between the capitalist and the wage slave class, may set his claim to the right to call himself a revolutionary socialist, and yet be speaking in behalf of a political party divided and in each others' hair during 364 days of the year are reflecting the misleading and corrupting doctrine of such political parties. He most assuredly attempts to conceal the fact that the capitalist class in all countries when revolutionary propaganda began to circulate its life blood, protected itself behind a wall of sham field also.

Socialist propaganda, thus temporarily thwarting the efforts of those who are striving and laboring at the undermining of all capitalist class institutions and the construction of real working class organizations, on the economic as the most essential field, and the political as the true expression of revolutionary thought and activity.

You in European countries have had your experience in the stormy days of the movement with the manifold fake socialist organizations, devised and called into being by agents of the employing class; you have felt how those who advocate no compromise, no political bargaining, were persecuted and vilified, haunted and slandered by all the pseudo-socialist professors, lawyers, clergymen and yellow-back unionists.

Look backward, now, recall those days of bitter conflict and heroic sacrifice, and you will no longer wonder, when weighing cause and effect, that the same unscrupulous capitalist class element makes history on the same lines in a land where the proletarians are now beginning to see the truth of socialist teachings, and are raising the banner of working class revolt against the master class and the manifold institutions organized for the protection of capitalist interests.

The proletarians of European countries, who in the first place are entitled to learn about the true conditions of affairs, will therefore not be surprised to hear and see representatives of reactionary, capitalist unionism, although sailing under the name of political party Socialists, assail the Industrial Workers of the World at this congress. But you will not permit, when reviewing the past of the movement in your native countries, that misrepresentation and falsehood presented in print by emissaries of a corrupted, decaying pure and simple union movement of America, and its political reflex, be used to separate you from the struggling, vilified and persecuted Socialist Industrial Unionists of the United States and Canada.

Two-fold are our reasons for being represented at this congress: First: To destroy the erroneous delusion that the forces making for the industrial revolution in the northern part of the American continent have not produced sufficiently strong material and organized efforts to accomplish the change in the ownership of the means of production and distribution. Second: To establish the necessary international relations with the workers of Europe, Asia and other continents, when ready, so that they cease to be the supply houses of human labor for the American capitalists, through which the latter are able to use worker against worker, the emigrant against the natives and settled proletarians, and to turn them into supply houses of emigrant soldiers for the social revolution upon the American continent.

With the advent of capitalist production in the States and recently in Canada, American working class resistance manifested itself in typical American style. The Knights of Labor organization was the result. Conspiracy to "do the weaker" was the bourgeois class maxim; conspiracy to work secretly against the evil influences of capitalist class supremacy, in all states of social and industrial activity, was the key to the quick-fire of the Knights of Labor. The conspiracy features of the organization caused its downfall; the employees got their own conspirators into the secret chambers, and they worked the plans for the destruction of the once powerful organization. The Knights of Labor, once 1,000,000 strong, are lost and forgotten.

The American Federation of Labor was born under a fire of attack. Open unions were its component parts or supposed to be. When organized twenty-seven years ago in the City of Pittsburgh, Pa., the capitalist press was unanimous in condemnation of the "Un-American invasion," and the fact that many of the first delegates to the first convention were foreign born, served as a subterfuge to assail the new organization and its pronounced principles.

But immediately after its formation the grappling between the progressive and conservative elements began, the capitalists again succeeding in getting their agents dominant in shaping the policies of the organization.

The American Federation of Labor did not evolve into a real labor organization. It did not accommodate itself in forms to the ever-changing structure of capitalist society; it did not grasp the higher, most important mission of a trade-union movement. The agents of the capitalist class, in gaining accession and obtaining control in the shaping of the affairs and mapping out of the policies and tactics of the organization, prostituted that organization and transformed it, as it is today, into an auxiliary to the capitalist class, inasmuch that the Wall Street Journal, mouthpiece of the corporation magnates, defiantly could proclaim "That the American Federation of Labor is to-day the strongest bulwark against the dangerous tide of socialism."

The arbitrary defining of demarcation lines between trades that industrial evolution had really eliminated, marked the beginning of a bitter warfare of craft unions against other craft unions; the struggle for the keeping of the job at the expense of universal working class interests became the supreme issue; much to the rejoicing of the employing class, and at their behest. Strike breaking, under the subterfuge of "jurisdiction rights," became a rule, not an exception. There is not one solitary trades union that can vindicate itself against the charge of strike breaking; hatred of workers against workers was engendered, the lust for retaliation of one set for alleged injustices engendered, the lust for retaliation of one set for alleged injustices done by another set, is ever more becoming the inspiring force for disintegrating activity on trades union lines; thousands disgusted with the betrayals by labor fakirs have been driven into the army of disorganized, despairing opponents to working class unity. Mr. Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labor, aware of the evil results of these "jurisdiction love quarrels," when asked for a remedy, declared in an address delivered before the convention of the National Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, held in Washington, D. C., in 1904, in substance as follows:

"That these jurisdiction conflicts tend to increase the efficiency of the trade unionist at his work, because of the competition among the various craft unions to gain control over a particular craft in an industry." Efficiency at work for the benefit of the capitalist employer! In this maxim is embodied the whole reactionary program of the organizations upon the American continent as are connected with either the American Federation of Labor or the seven different Brotherhoods of Railway Employees.

Higher efficiency of the workers for the benefit of the exploiter and the perpetuation of the capitalist system of society! Actuated by such principles, it is small wonder that the two millions of craft unionists constitute rather a protection than a menace to the prevailing order of things.

A National Civil Federation, with an educational bureau attached, could only exist with the consent of an organized part of the working class, if that part is accessible to the preachings dealt out by the supporters of capitalism. With but two exceptions, the trades union official journals are parts of that Educational Bureau and the workers are thus made to believe that their station in life as exploited wage workers is justified by eternal laws, formulated by the defenders of capitalism society.

High initiation fees, up to \$500.00, rigid examination of "undesirables," excessive fines, check-off systems, are only the results of such false forms and systems of unionism.

Division upon the political field is not even the worst feature of the evil results of such unionism; in attempts, often successful, to distract the attention from the burning issue, the workers are told that an election day alone would suffice to banish the evil; workers divided and in each others' hair during 364 days of the year are reminded that the coming together on one day would eliminate all the disputes resulting from false teachings, and that the triumph on the unionists would tend to unite the workers on the economic field.

False as are the conclusions, they are nevertheless in accord with the premises from which they flow.

Unity on the political field, as an expression of the will power and the concomitant might organized in preparation for coming events, can only be achieved and demonstrated when the solidarity on the economic battle ground is assured. A united political party of the working class of the United States and Canada must find its base and support from a working class organized on the industrial field, in such an organization that will not barter or compromise with the enemies of the working class. Political action is not a revolution, but only a measure in a slight degree to determine when the final act should be inaugurated.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

This conception of a true working class organization prompted the calling of a preliminary conference of a few men, in January, 1905. The opening arguments presented by the callers emphasized the necessity of establishing a common ground for the bringing together of the workers on the industrial as well as on the political field. We see that such eminent gentlemen as Mr. Mahlon Barnes and Lawyer Morris Hillquit, have embodied in their report to this congress the manifesto, issued in January, 1905. But the Socialist Party for which these two gentlemen speak was not invited, nor was the Socialist Labor Party. True to the Karl Marx saying quoted at the head of this report, it was conceived that the economic organization founded on the recognition of socialist principles had to be formed before a political reform of the augmented strength of working class unity could be expected. The American Labor Union, the Western Federation of Miners, and the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance were represented in that conference. The Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance had preceded, but had nearly succumbed under the fierce fire centered on it by the capitalist class and their labor lieutenants. By reason of the fact that the Alliance was considered an attachment to a specific socialist political party it could not enlist the support of those workmen who admitted the correctness of the position of the Alliance as an economic organization, yet knew that the policy of the organization was dependent on the mandates of that particular party. The American Labor Union had repeatedly endorsed the Socialist Party, but that endorsement in no way made the organization map out its policy in accordance with socialist principles. This was brought out in that conference. The Western Federation of Miners, however, was gradually and against huge obstacles, both from within and without, clearing the road for an industrial progressive unionism, all these elements brought together recognized the fact that American industrial conditions demanded an organization that would be able to cope with them, and reassure the workers whose courage had been broken and hopes shattered by the many defeats and betrayals in the past.

The program promulgated in the Manifesto aroused the workers. However, advocates of purely political action, under the pretext of being promoters of the program outlined, had gained admission to the meetings of that conference. It developed later that the ambition of these intruders was the possible prevention of what the conference had principally been called for. Working class unity on the economic and also on the political field, meant death to the political schemes of parliamentarians. Neither Mr. Mahlon Barnes, nor Mr. Morris Hillquit, both submitting to this congress a report filled with perverted truth, and vilification of individuals who alone have a right to the speak for the Industrial Workers of the World, have knowledge of the underlying forces making the formation of the organization essential in the battle of the working class for a higher form of civilization. Neither of them knows of the gigantic struggles the I. W. W. had to go through in the endeavor to carry out the program agreed upon in the January preliminary conference.

Profiting from evil experiences in all preceding organizations, it was to be the mission of the Industrial Workers of the World to prepare the workers of Northern America through the dissemination of sound literature for the work of construction. Never was it intended to cater for the support of large bodies organized in trades unions to increase the number of enlisted workers at the cost of abandoning the basic principles and blurring the lines of the class struggle. Clear and distinct as was the program promulgated, it precluded the chances of the agents of the master class from holding on to their jobs of prey upon the working class. This was the reason that the many delegates attending the first convention as representatives of already organized bodies of workers, immediately disorganized the workers from connecting themselves in large numbers with the newly formed body.

The danger of having the organization swamped by the enticement of large bodies, with all the elements of corruption and decay inherent in them, was thus averted, temporarily at least. As a result of this the workers of North America gained new confidence, because they found that the Industrial Workers of the World with its program was repulsive to the labor leaders of the craft union movement; the newly formed body was, therefore, able to make great headway immediately after its formation. Such was the interest shown in the movement among the working class that the capitalists got alarmed. They had succeeded in thwarting the efforts of the proletarians before, by getting their plant tools to work, and on the same plan they thought to either get control of the organization and thus stifle its activity, or destroy it in its infancy. Those who had surveyed the field and had learned from the object lessons of the past, could see the cunning work of the master class at every turn of affairs.

The coming events enacted at the second convention of the I. W. W. cast their shadows several months before. The capitalist press, supported by a parasitic press owned by individuals whose connection with the socialist movement emanates from selfish motives, announced four months in advance of the convention that the dominating influence of the "Revolutionary Socialists" in the I. W. W. would be broken in the second convention and the Industrial Workers of the World would then have the good will of some employers of labor and grow rapidly in numbers. The capitalist agents tried their best to carry out the wishes of their silent instructors. But for the first time in the history of the American labor movement did the proletarians destroy the plans of the capitalist class. The supporters of capitalist unionism were thrown out; for their last resort of delivering the goods to their masters they used the brutal force of hired assassins to slay and if possible murder those who stood loyal to the working class. Supported also by such elements as are characterized in the report of Barnes and Lawyer Hillquit to this congress, the capitalists and their tools thought that vilifications, slander and abuse against a few in the movement would accomplish what by other methods they were unable to see consummated.

You will be told that there are two factions now; the one repudiated by the intelligent working class is not founded and conducted in its work by Socialist principles, and no real workingmen are connected with it; the other, however, has grown strong and powerful under the fierce fire of persecution and attack from the fortress of capitalism and the ontoposts protecting capitalist class institutions and interests. Starting out with only 2,000 members in 1905, the Western Federation of Miners not included, the organization has now 362 industrial unions and branches organized in 27 States of the Union and three Provinces of Canada; individual members will be found already in Central and South America; the propaganda with literature and lectures by fifteen organizers, all well trained and equipped intellectually, may give a scant idea to our comrades in other parts of the world what great work for the dissemination of socialist ideas is being performed and constructive propaganda carried on.

The capitalist class and its servants were defeated in the second convention and that alone serves as a measure in some degree showing the strength of the working class.

(CONCLUDED ON FOURTH PAGE)

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W. E. TRAUTMANN
Room 310 Bush Temple
CHICAGO - ILLINOIS

LEARN WHAT IT IS

To know what Industrial Unionism is you must read what is said about it by its friends and what it says for itself; only in that way can its present aims and ultimate purposes be understood. The following are recommended to workmen who desire to learn what Industrial Unionism is:

Handbook of Industrial Unionism, 5c
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Report of Secretary Trautmann, 5c
"Industrial Unionism," E. V. 5c
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Gives an outline of the Structure of Industrial Unionism and Analysis of the Preamble. Very useful in arriving at an understanding of the form of organization of the

Industrial Workers of the World

Price, postpaid, 10 cts. Special rates on large orders.

The Industrial Workers of the World has but one general office in Chicago, located in the Bush Temple, North Clark Street; it has no connection with any claimants to the name and repudiates any and all claims made by them.

LOCAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

MINUTES OF LOCAL ADVISORY BOARD, FRIDAY, JULY 26TH, 1907

Present: B. Stone, A. Simpson and E. S. Payment.

Telegram was read from Vincent St. John, dated July 21st, containing statement that it would be impossible for him to leave the country on account of bonds. The secretary reported that he immediately wired Heslewood, and received a reply that he would immediately proceed to Chicago, and to the East, to take a steamer to Europe as delegate, but owing to the fact that the cancelling of dates would create confusion and distrust, the secretary thought it imperative that all dates of Vincent St. John should be filled by him and so wired him, and received reply that he would fill all the dates in the East as speaker in mass meetings.

On motion of Payment, seconded by Simpson, the action of the secretary was approved.

Owing to the big strike in Bridgeport and the strikes in other places, which required that all finances and all energies be centered on the strike situation, it was resolved that all organizers be recalled temporarily, except those who are conducting the strike.

Letter read from Fellow Worker Johnson of Bridgeport, Conn., giving an account of the strike situation in that place. He reported that more speakers were needed and Organizer French had to secure two speakers from Newark to help him handle the campaign. The action of Organizer French was approved.

Letter read from Fellow Worker P. Holm, a very active member of the Garment Workers' Union of Chicago, who reported that he has a chance to organize the Hungarian and Slavonian workers in the East Chicago Steel Works, in conjunction with Fellow Worker Rothfischer. The secretary reported that arrangements will be made for meetings for the purpose of starting a propaganda among the large factories in the five suburban towns of Chicago.

Charter applications received from J. J. Etor for an Italian mixed local of Vancouver, B. C. Upon motion the charter was granted.

Charter application received from Organizer Cox for a mixed local of St. Joseph, Mo., and also a report about the convention in Illinois, made by Simpson, seconded by Stone, that the charter be granted. Carried.

Letter received from Organizer Woznak that he had arrived in Buffalo again and considered his services discontinued. The organization will be able to have a permanent Polish organizer in the field.

Charter application was received for a mixed local of Chicago, Ill., signed by members in good standing in the I. W. W. Inasmuch as the Scandinavian branch of the mixed local of Chicago had repudiated the action of the element of 85, it was decided to co-operate with that branch for the purpose of establishing a mixed local of Chicago under a different number, and that the request of the signers of the application to recognize them as members of the mixed local be complied with.

Letter received from the secretary of a switchmen's union around Pittsburg, Pa., in which he outlined the conditions of the railway workers and promised his co-operation in reaching them for the purpose of organizing them under the I. W. W. He offered to do so free of charge and only wanted literature and all information how to proceed with the work.

The secretary reported that he had given all the instructions necessary and will remain in touch with that fellow worker. The action of the secretary was approved.

Charter application received from Fellow Worker Simonson, for a smeltermen's union at Pittsburg, Kan., which was accompanied by the necessary charter fee. The general secretary reported that charter and supplies had been forwarded. His action was approved.

Letter received from Organizer Simonson showing what splendid work he is doing in that district, and also letters corroborative of this were received from the secretaries of the locals in that district.

Letter received from Secretary Howard of Kansas City, stating that the American Federation of Labor is again trying to organize the stock yards workers, and the I. W. W. men had also succeeded in getting a

propaganda started, but a paid organizer would be needed to finish the work, otherwise all efforts would be lost.

The secretary was instructed to reply and explain the situation throughout the country and the financial condition of headquarters.

Letter read from Organizer Thompson from Providence, R. I., giving a report of the work being done in Pascoag and Mapleville and surrounding towns, part of which was ordered to be published in the Bulletin.

Letter read from Vincent St. John from Goldfield, giving an account of his proposed trip and that he will fill all dates.

Letter read from Organizer Forberg from St. Paul, giving report of the work being done in St. Paul. Letter received from Organizer Etor, giving a report of the work being done in Vancouver. He had collected \$7.00 for subscriptions and sold literature to the amount of \$14.25. He also reported that the field in Vancouver is excellent and the organizations there are composed of very good material, which gave him the very best of co-operation in his work.

The secretary reported that Etor is practically self-sustaining through the sale of literature and the collection of subscriptions.

Letter read from Organizer French, giving an account of the strike situation in Bridgeport, which will be published in the Bulletin.

Letter was read from the secretary of Local No. 12, Los Angeles, Cal., containing a protest of the local signed by a committee, against the recent instructions given to organizers, and asking that the protest be published in the Bulletin. The secretary instructed that they be permitted to charge an initiation fee of \$2.00 for new members, as conditions in Alaska warrant such a fee. On motion the protest was complied with.

Letter read from Fellow Worker P. Veal, representing the coal miners of the Denver, Ill., asking for organizers, in order to continue the great work carried on among the coal miners, as they are now ripe for the I. W. W., and in order to complete the work, it will be necessary to have the organizers sent immediately into that state.

The secretary reported that he had written to Fellow Worker Veal, outlining the program that has been adopted by the general executive board for the near future in the coal mining districts of Illinois. Letter read from Organizer Fischer, giving many suggestions how organizing should be conducted. On motion board adjourned.

THE FOLLOWING BILLS WERE APPROVED:

written to Fellow Worker Vail, outlining the program that has been adopted for the general education board for the near future in the coal mining districts of Illinois.	
Letter read from Organizer Fischer, giving many suggestions how organizing should be conducted.	
On motion board adjourned.	
THE FOLLOWING BILLS WERE APPROVED:	
Bill No.	
965	July 26. O. J. Smith, assistant, for week ending July 6th. \$15.00
966	July 26. P. Thompson, organizer, for week ending July 6th, and for week ending July 13th, less amount paid on account \$25.85, mileage \$16.00, mileage \$7.50, postage \$1.35 35.00
967	July 26. Hotel, for week ending July 6th. 1.50
968	July 26. F. Woznak, organizer, for week ending July 6th, mileage \$14.00, and meals \$4.75, carfare \$2.00 18.00
969	July 26. A. Kulchynsky, organizer, for week ending July 6th, mileage \$14.00, and expense \$2.00 16.00
970	July 26. A. B. Edwards, editor, for week ending July 6th, and for week ending July 13th 10.00
971	July 26. J. Smith, assistant, for week ending July 6th 15.00
972	July 26. Oliver Typewriter Co., for week ending July 6th 8.00
973	July 26. J. A. Francis, con- sultant, for week ending July 6th 15.00
974	July 26. J. A. Francis, con- sultant, for week ending July 6th 15.00
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